

5/22/77

Folder Citation: Collection: Office of Staff Secretary; Series: Presidential Files; Folder: 5/22/77
Container 21

To See Complete Finding Aid:

<http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids/Staff%20Secretary.pdf>

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

WEATHER FORECAST FOR
SOUTH BEND, INDIANA
SUNDAY - MAY 22, 1977

HOT AND HUMID. TEMPERATURES IN MID 80'S.
50 PERCENT CHANCE OF THUNDERSTORMS.

SCHEDULE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADDRESS AT NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY

SUNDAY - MAY 22, 1977

From: Tim Kraft

SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1977 - SUMMARY SCHEDULE

12:15 p.m. EDT	Helicopter departs South Grounds for Andrews.
12:35 p.m.	Air Force One departs Andrews AFB en route Michiana Regional Airport, South Bend, Indiana. (Flying Time: 1 hr. 30 mins.) (Time Change: -1 hour)
1:05 p.m. EST	Arrive Michiana Regional Airport, South Bend. Motorcade (15 minutes driving time) to Athletic and Convocation Center.
1:37 p.m.	Arrive Athletic and Convocation Center. PERSONAL TIME: 8 minutes (for robing)
1:45 p.m.	Father Hesburgh escorts you to Room 129 for photograph with Honorary Degree recipients.
2:00 p.m.	Commencement exercises begin.
3:35 p.m.	Notre Dame Commencement Address. LIVE LOCAL TELEVISION
4:40 p.m.	Depart via motorcade en route Michiana Regional Airport. (Driving Time: 15 mins.)
4:55 p.m.	Arrive Michiana Regional Airport.
5:00 p.m.	Air Force One departs en route Andrews AFB.
7:20 p.m. EDT	Arrive Andrews AFB. Board helicopter.
7:40 p.m.	Arrive South Grounds.

HONORARY DEGREE RECIPIENTS-UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

COMMENCEMENT - MAY 22, 1977

Honorable Jimmy Carter President of the United States	Commencement Speaker Doctor of Laws
Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. Speaker, U.S. House of Reps.	Doctor of Laws
Dr. Arthur F. Burns Chairman, Federal Reserve Board	Doctor of Laws
Mr. Reginald H. Jones Chairman of the Board General Electric Company	Doctor of Engineering
Dr. Robert H. Ebert Dean, Harvard Medical School	Doctor of Science
Dr. Percy A. Pierre Assistant Secretary of the Army University Trustee	Doctor of Engineering
Dr. Catherine B. Cleary Chairman of the Board First Wisconsin Trust Company	Doctor of Laws
Professor Philip B. Kurland The University of Chicago	Doctor of Laws
Professor Jean-Baptiste Duroselle The Sorbonne	Doctor of Laws
Most Reverend Donal Lamont Bishop of Umtali, Rhodesia	Doctor of Laws
His Eminence Stephen Cardinal Kim Seoul, Korea	Doctor of Laws
Most Reverend Jean Jadot Apostolic Delegate to the U.S.	Doctor of Laws

WASHINGTON, D.C. DEPARTURE/SOUTH BEND, INDIANA ARRIVAL

12:15 p.m.
EDT

You board helicopter on South
Grounds and depart en route
Andrews AFB.

12:30 p.m.

Arrive Andrews AFB. Board
Air Force One.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CLOSED DEPARTURE

12:35 p.m.

Air Force One departs Andrews
AFB en route Michiana Regional
Airport, South Bend, Indiana.

(Flying Time: 1 hr. 30 mins.)
(Time Change: - 1 hour)

PRESIDENTIAL GUESTS

Speaker of the House Thomas
(Tip) O'Neill (D-Mass.)
Ambassador and Mrs. Mike Mansfield
Mr. and Mrs. Nurdy (Joanne) Hoffman

1:05 p.m.
EST

Air Force One arrives Michiana
Regional Airport.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CROWD SITUATION

You will be met by:

Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind.)
Rep. John Brademas (D-Ind.)
Mr. Larry Conrad, Secretary of State
(D-Ind.)
Mayor Peter Nemeth
Father Ted Hesburgh, President,
Notre Dame University
Mr. Edmund Stephan, Chairman of the
Board of Trustees, Notre Dame
Mr. Bob McKinney, Early Carter
Supporter

Ms. Patty Evans, Indiana Democratic
Vice Chairperson
Mr. Iley Baldoni, Third District
Democratic Chairman
Mr. Joe Doran, St. Joseph County
Democratic Chairman
Ms. Isabell Price, Third District
Democratic Vice-Chairperson
Ms. Freda Noble, St. Joseph County
Democratic Chairperson
Mr. Ken Sharp, Chairman, Indiana
Labor Coalition
Mr. Phil Crone, Chairman, St. Joseph
County UAW-CAP Council
Mr. Bill Schreiber, Campaign Worker

Greeting the crowd along the way,
you proceed to the motorcade for
boarding. Father Hesburgh and
Ed Stephan will accompany you.

1:20 p.m.

Motorcade departs Michiana Regional
Airport en route Athletic and
Convocation Center, Notre Dame
University.

(Driving Time: 15 minutes)

NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

1:35 p.m.

Motorcade arrives Athletic and
Convocation Center.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

You will be met by:

Mr. John Plouff, Managing Director
of the Athletic and
Convocation Center
Mr. James Gibbons, Director of Special
Projects

Escorted by Father Hesburgh, proceed to Room C-127 for robing.

Rep. O'Neill and Amb. Mansfield will accompany you.

1:37 p.m.

Arrive Room C-127.

PERSONAL TIME: 8 minutes

1:45 p.m.

Escorted by Father Hesburgh, depart Room C-127 en route Room 129.

1:46 p.m.

Arrive Room 129 for photograph session with Father Hesburgh, Edmund Stephan and Honorary Degree recipients.

OFFICIAL PHOTO COVERAGE

1:50 p.m.

Platform party departs Room 129 en route Auditorium.

1:55 p.m.

Escorted by Father Hesburgh, depart Room 129 en route Notre Dame University Auditorium.

1:59 p.m.

You arrive offstage area and pause.

2:00 p.m.

Escorted by Father Hesburgh, you proceed to dais and take your seat.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 12,000

Program begins.

2:00 p.m.

Father Burtchaell convenes the convocation.

SPECIAL NOTE: It is traditional during the commencement exercises for some of the graduates, particularly from the School of Engineering, to set off firecrackers.

2:03 p.m.

Conferring of the Honorary Degrees begins.

You will not be the first to receive your degree; the sequence is determined by academic protocol. Dr. Burns will receive his degree; then you.

Father Burtchaell will read a citation, at the end of which you, Father Hesburgh and Edmund Stephan all three rise and step forward.

As you rise, you should remove your hat and leave it on the seat, and hand the doctoral hood from your arm to Mr. Stephan.

Father Hesburgh will then hand you the Honorary Degree and shake hands with you. Simultaneously, while Father Hesburgh is shaking hands, Mr. Stephan will place the doctoral hood over your head and onto your shoulders.

You then turn to the audience and after an acknowledgement of applause, the three of you return to your seats. You redon your hat.

2:30 p.m.	Introduction of Valedictory Address.
2:40 p.m.	Award and Prize Winners announced.
2:50 p.m.	Doctor of Philosophy degrees conferred.
3:10 p.m.	All other degree candidates presented and degrees conferred.
3:25 p.m.	Presentation of Award.
3:30 p.m.	Introduction of you by Father Hesburgh.
3:35 p.m.	PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS. (You should remove your hat for your remarks.) FULL PRESS COVERAGE LIVE LOCAL TELEVISION
4:00 p.m.	Remarks conclude. You take your seat.
4:30 p.m.	Program concludes. Escorted by Father Hesburgh, you depart dais en route offstage area for disrobing and then proceed to motorcade for boarding.
4:40 p.m.	Motorcade departs Notre Dame University Athletic and Convocation Center en route Michiana Regional Airport.
4:55 p.m.	Motorcade arrives Michiana Regional Airport. OPEN PRESS COVERAGE CLOSED DEPARTURE Board Air Force One.
5:00 p.m.	Air Force One departs Michiana Regional Airport en route Andrews AFB. (Flying Time: 1 hr. 20 mins.) (Time Change: +1 hour)

PRESIDENTIAL GUESTS

Speaker of the House Thomas
 (Tip) O'Neill
 Ambassador and Mrs. Mike Mansfield
 Mr. and Mrs. Nurdy (Joanne) Hoffman
 Rep. John Brademas (D-Ind.)
MR. & MRS. ARTHUR BUANS (HELEN)

7:20 p.m.
 EDT

Air Force One arrives
 Andrews AFB.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
 CLOSED ARRIVAL

Board helicopter and depart
 en route the South Grounds.

7:40 p.m.

Arrive South Grounds.

#

SOUTH BEND AIRPORT

SOUTH BEND AIRPORT RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Key Personalities

CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

SENATOR BIRCH BAYH

- will want to talk to the President about the arsenal in Milan, Tenn.
- will want to discuss regional appointments

CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAS

LOCAL (SOUTH BEND) DIGNITARIES

MAYOR PETER NEMETH

- Mayor, City of South Bend
- 33 years old
- Lawyer
- Elected 1975 by a landslide after defeating incumbent Democrat
- Sought candidate Carter's support for a downtown Mall in South Bend
- Moderate to conservative
- Re-election 1979 and will probably be re-elected. No opposition has surfaced
- Citizen's type

FATHER THEODORE HESBURGH

- President, Notre Dame University
- Former Chairman, United States Commission on Civil Rights
- Chairman, Overseas Development Council
- Chairman, Rockefeller Foundation
- Holder of Medal of Freedom
- Former Member, President Ford's Clemency Board
- Holds more than 50 honorary degrees

EDMUND STEPHANS

- Chairman, Board of Trustees, Notre Dame University
- Chicago Attorney
- Notre Dame Alumnus

LOCAL PARTY OFFICIALS

IDEAL BALDONI (IDEY)

- 3rd District Democratic Chairperson
- Close to John Brademas
- Portage Township Assessor

ISABELLE PRICE

- 3rd District Democratic Vice-Chairperson
- Concord Township Assessor
- Wife of Elkhart County Democratic Chairperson

JOE DORAN

- St. Joseph County Democratic Chairperson
- St. Joseph County Clerk
- Doran's brother is Regional Postmaster General for Chicago
- Retired fireman
- Daughter ran unsuccessfully to be a Carter delegate

FREDA G. NOBLE

- St. Joseph County Democratic Vice-Chairperson
- Retired from various public jobs
- Longtime party activist

STATE PARTY OFFICIAL

PATTY EVANS

- State Party Vice Chairperson
- Indiana Carter Steering Committee
- Wineograd Commission

STATE ELECTED OFFICIAL

LARRY CONRAD

- Secretary of State (highest ranking Democrat elected)
- Democratic nominee for Governor - beaten by biggest margin in Indiana history
- Was close to Bayh

EARLY CARTER SUPPORTERS

BILL SCHRIEBER

- Earliest Carter supporter in Indiana
- The President stayed with Schrieber during the primaries
- Interested in an appointment to the International Joint Commission, State Department

BOB MC KINNEY

- Early Carter supporter
- Carter delegate
- Indianapolis attorney
- Chairman, Carter Primary Campaign
- Chairman, Carter General Election Steering Committee
- Speculation that he will be named Chairman of Home Loan Bank Board. This appointment is under fire from grass roots community groups

Note: May have a problem in coming.

NATIONAL FINANCE COUNCIL

MORRIS KATZ

- Handbag manufacturer
- Raised money in General Election
- Has committed to raising \$50,000 for the DNC
- Main fundraiser and close personal friend of Birch Bayh
- Jewish

Note: May have a problem in coming.

LABOR LEADERS

KEN SHARP

- President, Indiana CWA
- Carter delegate and early supporter
- Prominent and powerful member of the Indian Labor Coalition
- Chairman, Indiana Labor Coalition

PHIL CRONE

- Chairperson, St. Joseph UAW CAP Council
- Strong and vigorous worker for Carter in primary and general election
- Carter delegate

INDIANA POLITICS AND
ISSUES

POLITICAL OVERVIEW
(Tim Davis - DNC)

The State Party in Indiana suffers from a lack of statewide leadership. Bill Trisler, State Party Chair, has been unable to unify the various county and district organizations into a functioning statewide political organization. The party has an outstanding debt of \$22,000.

Eight of the eleven House members are Democrats. The political organizations that emerge in response to their candidacies are the greatest strengths of the Democratic Party in Indiana.

The State Legislature will be meeting in special session starting May 23rd. At issue is the state budget and provisions of the legislation controlling the property taxation power of local units of government. The Democrats control only the Senate.

In 1978 the three state Democratic officeholders (Conrad, New, Curry) are unable to run for third terms and must either switch with one another or not run. The Republicans have appropriated \$1.3 million to targeted state legislative races to gain control of the Senate in anticipation of reapportionment in 1979. They have also targeted several Congressional races: Phil Sharp in the 10th; Dave Evans in the 6th; Floyd Fithian in the 2nd; and Dave Cornwell in the 8th.

John Brademas from the 3rd Congressional District was elected to a tenth term in 1976 receiving 57% of the vote. He faces re-election in 1978.

Birch Bayh will face re-election in 1980. Bayh can expect to face Governor Bowen in that race. Bayh does not have an ongoing political organization in the state. He has alienated members of the Indiana congressional delegation by failing to consult with them on federal appointments. Bayh's politics are perceived as being too liberal for the state. He is being told to begin campaigning now or he will not be re-elected.

There are several key issues in South Bend:

Japanese Television Sets - CTS in Elkhart manufactures Zenith component parts. Controversy centers on "unfair" import practices by the Japanese.

Recreational Vehicles - South Bend is the home of several Recreational Vehicle manufacturers and is concerned about the availability of gasoline.

Mass Transit Buses - Controversy concerns the DOT promulgated "interim procurement policy" for transit buses and its effect on a local manufacturer in Mishawaka.

An Indiana issue is the atomic plant near Gary. The Interior Department announced Thursday it will not try to stop the nuclear power plant next to the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. Various environmental groups have strong protested the building of the plant.

The city of South Bend is a Democratic stronghold and last year elected Peter Nemeth as Mayor by an overwhelming vote. The City Council is controlled by Democrats with a 7 to 2 margin. South Bend was also the site for the "ethnic purity" statement by candidate Carter during the Primaries.

The Notre Dame commencement marks the 25th anniversary of Father Hesburgh's Presidency. There is only one issue that has galvanized student interest and that is world hunger. Hundreds of students have fasted on Wednesday nights and donated the proceeds to various international committees.

There will be an additional 2000 people watching the commencement ceremonies on closed circuit television.

Reaction to the President personally and to his administration has been favorable. In a state where most of the media is conservative, President Carter has been getting high marks. One potential problem is the "Gas Guzzler's Tax." However, on the issue of a balanced budget, the President has won overwhelming approval.

KEY POLITICAL ISSUES IN INDIANA AND THE 3RD C.D.

There are four key political issues of importance to the voters in Indiana:

1. Japanese Television Sets

Elkhart County is the home of CTS Corporation which manufactures components for Zenith Color Television sets. CTS, along with Zenith, and the UAW, has fought the "unfair" import practice by Japanese electronic manufacturers.

2. Recreational Vehicles

Elkhart is a major manufacturing center of campers and is edgy about the President's energy proposals' effect on their industry. Their concern is about the availability of gas and Schlesinger's statement which singled out campers as inefficient users of gasoline.

3. Mass Transit Bus

AM General Corporation, American Motors, manufacturing municipal transit buses in Mishawaka, has run into increasing difficulty with DOT's "interim procurement policy" on buses. DOT says cities purchasing buses can choose between "current design buses" built by AMC or "advance design buses" (ADB) which are produced only by GM and Flxible. Congressman Brademas et al are concerned that since the Federal Government supplies 80% of the purchase funds most cities will opt for the higher cost ADB and maintain ADB should have to compete on a "value for value" basis.

4. Indiana A-Plant

The Interior Department will not try to stop construction of a nuclear power plant next to the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore Park, Secretary Andrus announced on Thursday.

The Interior Department has been under pressure from Rep. Sidney R. Yates (D-Ind), Chairman of Interior's Appropriations Subcommittee, and environmentalists to go to court to stop the plant's construction.

CURRENT POLITICAL RACES

STATE CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICES - 1978

In 1978, the three State Democratic officeholders (Conrad, New and Curry) are unable to run for third terms and must either switch with each other or not run.

U. S. CONGRESSIONAL - 1978

Republicans have targeted: Phil Sharp in the 10th, Dave Evans in the 6th, Floyd Fithian in the 2nd, and Dave Cornwell in the 8th. The House Democratic Campaign Committee agrees that these are marginal districts.

John Brademas will face re-election in 1978. The following are election returns in the three 3rd D.C. counties in past 4 general elections. Brademas was elected to a tenth term in Congress in 1976 receiving 57% of the vote in the third district.

	St. Joseph Co.	Elkhart Co.	LaPorte Co.
1968	60.0%	45.6%	(Kelly) 51.5%
1970	63.4	53.1	(Sprague) 57.2
1972	60.4	47.6	(Brademas) 49.4
1974	68.0	58.6	(Brademas) 59.0

STATE LEGISLATIVE - 1979

The Republicans have appropriated \$1.3 million to targeted races. Their intent is to gain control of the Senate in anticipation of reapportionment in 1979.

U. S. SENATE - 1980

Birch Bayh is up for re-election. Governor Otis Bowen, Republican incumbent, at this time seems to be the logical opponent. (Bayh is currently in some disfavor with the Indiana Congressional Delegation in that they feel he has excluded them from taking an active part in federal appointments.)

LEGISLATURE

A special session of the Indiana Legislature has been called for May 23 to consider the State Budget and provisions of legislation controlling the

property taxation power of local units of government. The Legislature failed to finish their business in the legally allotted Legislative Schedule.

VOTER REACTION TO THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION

The President has basically been getting good ratings even from the conservative Indiana media. Problem areas have been: Universal Voter Registration (potential for fraud), and the UAW's negative reaction to the "Gas Guzzler Tax."

STATE PARTY

The State Party in Indiana suffers from a lack of leadership, money, and does not present a functioning statewide political organization. Congressional candidates' organizations seem to pre-empt ongoing party organization. The party strength lies in the Congressional delegation with 8 of 11 members Democratic.

SOUTH BEND AND NOTRE DAME

South Bend is a Democratic stronghold with Poles, Hungarians and Blacks making up the backbone of the Democratic vote. Mayor Peter J. Nemeth was elected by an overwhelming vote and the City Council is controlled by Democrats with a 7 to 2 margin.

The President has been in South Bend twice in 1976 - in April at the time of the "ethnic purity" statement and in October following the debates and Ford's statement on Eastern Europe.

Notre Dame's Commencement marks the 25th Anniversary of Father Hesburgh's Presidency of Notre Dame. The only campus-wide issue has been world hunger and hundreds of students have fasted each Wednesday and donated the proceeds to international committees.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Frank Press *FP*

SUBJECT: Talking points with Father Hesburgh on his
role with the UN Conference on Science and
Technology for Development

- This is a major UN activity to see how to meet the technical needs and demands of the developing nations, in ways that the developed countries' industrial, labor, educational, and other sectors can accept and endorse.
- Conference will be held in 1979 at site not yet determined. (US has offered to host the conference)
- Father Hesburgh will serve as head of the US delegation to the conference. He will help select delegation and plan the general approach to the policy problems.
- The national discussion and preparation are bound to be as important as the final conference itself.
- Hesburgh should feel free to assemble his own advisors, drawn broadly from industrial, labor, technological and financial communities. DOS support staff is being assembled.
- Hesburgh can travel as much or as little as he wishes. He can tailor his involvement to suit his interests. State-appointed Coordinator (Ambassador Jean Wilkowski) and staff can assume much of the routine representational burden.
- This memo has been cleared with State Department, which will serve as the lead agency for the conference preparation.

STATE AND LOCAL STATISTICAL SUMMARY

UNEMPLOYMENT (Seasonally adjusted)

SOUTH BEND

APRIL

1977 : 4.5%
1976 : 5.6%
1975 : 8.9%
1974 : 5.3%

JANUARY

1977 : 5.6%

INDIANA

APRIL

1977 : 5.0%
1976 : 6.5%
1975 : 9.9%
1974 : 5.4%

JANUARY

1977 : 5.2%

VOTING AND REGISTRATION

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

Carter : 49,157
Ford : 50,358

REGISTRATION

Democrats : 65,992
Republicans: 28,747
Independents: 37,523

DEMOGRAPHY

County Population 242,000

So. Bend Population 125,000
Black 15%
Foreign Stock 20%
(mostly Polish and Hungarian)

Mishawaka Population 36,000
Foreign Stock 17%
(mostly Belgian and Italian)

ECONOMIC BASE

Manufacturing

Bendix Corporation (brake and steering, energy control
and aerospace plants)

AM General Corporation (builds postal trucks, army
vehicles and mass transit buses)

BAILLY NUCLEAR POWER PLANT AND INDIANA DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE

Northern Indiana Public Service Company has spent an estimated \$80 million since 1970 on preparations for a nuclear power plant (Bailly Plant) at the western edge of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, near Chicago in the Gary-Hammond area of Indiana. The plant, for which excavation is complete and pilings are now being driven, would augment the electric power generating facilities at the company's existing coal-fired plant on the same site. It has been hotly contested by environmentalists, who went to court several years ago to challenge the old Atomic Energy Commission's decision to license the facility, citing its location in a sensitive area.

In 1976, after the case had reached the Supreme Court, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals held that the license was valid. In its opinion, the appellate court noted that Interior had not seen fit to intervene on the environmentalist side although the National Lakeshore would be affected. Interior's formal opposition to the nuclear plant had been limited to testimony at the pre-licensing and administrative appeal stages.

At the prodding of Congressman Sidney Yates, chairman of the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee, former Secretary Thomas S. Kleppe wrote to the chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission last June 23 asking reconsideration of the license to build the nuclear plant, but NRC rejected the request, and work began on excavation. The National Park Service began monitoring the environmental effects of the plans and work.

Chairman Yates early this year asked Secretary Andrus to review Interior's position, and on Thursday, May 19 the Secretary sent Yates the attached letter and opinion by Interior Solicitor Krulitz. In effect, it says that:

BAILLY NUCLEAR POWER PLANT (Cont'd)

1. There is no substantial new evidence which would justify Interior--at this time--to go back to NRC, the courts or the Congress to try to halt the nuclear power plant.
2. There are some serious problems involved in the operation of the present, coal-fired power plant, principally seepage from its huge fly-ash settling pond which is killing trees and other vegetation within the National Lakeshore.
3. Interior is pressing the company to resolve this problem promptly and will be ready to go to court soon unless the seepage problem is resolved.
4. Other legislation and court action may still be advisable at some future time to protect the Lakeshore.

Interior Won't Attempt To Halt Indiana A-Plant

By Margot Hornblower
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Interior Department will not try to stop construction of a nuclear power plant next to the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Secretary Cecil D. Andrus said yesterday.

The nuclear project had been opposed by former Secretary Thomas S. Kleppe, who said it would pollute the air and water of the lakeshore, one of the few urban parks in the nation. However, Kleppe did not file suit to stop its construction.

Andrus told a group of reporters yesterday, "We would have been better off if the plant had not been licensed. But the company has spent \$80 million. Until there is new evidence, we do not feel we can ask for a rehearing" before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

The \$705 million plant is supported by its sponsor, the Northern Indiana Public Service Co., which says it is needed to provide electricity. It is opposed by environmentalists, by the city of Gary, Ind., and by the state of Illinois. They contend it would damage the park and endanger visitors.

The utility has just completed excavation for the plant on a site next to Lake Michigan, between the Bethlehem Steel complex and the park.

The park, an 8,500-acre expanse of beaches, sand dunes and marshes, is in the middle of an industrial area. It is heavily used by residents of Gary, five miles away, and Chicago, 30 miles away.

In answer to a question yesterday, Andrus said, "Frankly, I have been a proponent of nuclear power. The very first reactor was built in Idaho [where Andrus was governor]. I've been around it most of my life, and I don't have a fear of it."

Andrus has been under considerable pressure from Rep. Sidney R. Yates (D-Ind.), chairman of Interior's appropriations subcommittee, to go to court to stop the plant's construction.

Yates said yesterday Andrus' deci-

sion was "unfortunate" and that the plant "interferes with the public's right to have the lakeshore for its enjoyment and use."

Opponents of the project, led by a Chicago group called Businessmen for the Public Interest, had pinned their hopes on the Interior Department after a federal court refused to revoke the plant's license last year.

They maintained that the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago virtually invited the Interior Department to oppose the project by pointing out that it could not deny the license when the department was not involved in the suit.

Kleppe's response was a sharply worded letter to Marcus A. Rowden, chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The site of plant is "most inappropriate . . . [and] does not make sense ecologically or aesthetically," Kleppe wrote, pointing out that Interior had opposed it since 1972.

The public would be restricted from using the park within a mile and a half of the reactor, Kleppe said, because of the possibility of a "catastrophic accident and discharge of radioactive wastes."

The 450-foot-high cooling towers would create an "unacceptable . . . visual impact and aesthetic intrusion" as well as acid air pollution from the combination of vapor with the plume of a nearby coal-fired plant, Kleppe said.

The company is already engaged in a dispute with Interior because ponds to store ash next to its coal plant seep into the park. Andrus said the utility has 60 days to clean up the ponds.

A utility spokesman said the park will be protected from any adverse effects by a 300- to 500-foot "greenbelt buffer zone" around the nuclear plant.

Andrus said, "In the future, where we have the opportunity, we will be more aggressive than my predecessor" in protecting public parks from adjacent nuclear plants.

NOTRE DAME COMMENCE-
MENT SPEECH

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/23/77

Jim:

THought you might want to see
the speech as finally edited by
the President for delivery.

Also, you may want to type in
the couple of words from the
next page at the bottom on the
right-hand page, as the
President did this time, on
future speeches.

Rick

PLEASE RETURN THE ORIGINAL OF
THE SPEECH TO ME AFTER YOU'VE
FINISHED WITH IT.

INTRODUCTION

Master
copy -
Keep for
me
JC

[In the 25 years that Father Hesburgh has been president of this university, Notre Dame has matured into an institution with a worldwide reputation for academic excellence.

And increasingly during that same quarter century, both Father Hesburgh and Notre Dame have participated energetically and responsibly in the world of which they are a part.

I would have liked to mention all of Father Hesburgh's major accomplishments -- but the list is much too long.

So I'll have to confine myself to his achievements in just one area -- an area that concerns us both greatly. That is human rights.]

In his 25 years as president of Notre Dame, Father Hesburgh has spoken more consistently and effectively in

INK Changes: Speech Uniters + 28

Revised

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

support of the rights of ^{human beings} ~~[the individual]~~ than any American
I ^{know.} ~~[can think of.]~~

~~[He has been a courageous leader in the fight for full
human rights for all Americans for many years.]~~

His interest in the Notre Dame Center for Civil Rights
has ^{never} ~~[not]~~ wavered ~~[since its founding in 1973.]~~ and he played
an important role in broadening the scope of the Center's
work to include ^{all people} ~~[international human rights]~~ -- as shown in
last month's conference here on human rights and American
foreign policy.

~~[Father Hesburgh and Notre Dame have demonstrated]~~ ^{has been demonstrated} That
concern ^{again today} by the selection of Bishop Donal Lamont,
Paul Cardinal Arns, and Stephen Cardinal Kim to receive
honorary degrees. In their fight for human ^{freedom} ~~[rights]~~ in Rhodesia,
Brazil and South Korea, these three religious leaders typify
all that is best in their countries and in their church. I

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

am honored to join you in ^{recognizing their}
~~praising their sacrifice and~~
dedication ^{and personal sacrifice.}
~~in a cause we all share.~~

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

~~NOTRE DAME SPEECH~~

(Story about bed. on fire)

Last week I spoke in California about the domestic agenda for our nation. Our challenge in the next few years is to provide more efficiently for the needs of our people, to demonstrate -- against the dark faith of the times -- that our government can be both competent and humane.

I want to speak today about ~~our foreign~~ ^{programs,} ~~agenda~~ and ~~about~~ the strands that connect our actions overseas with our essential character as a nation.

I believe we can have a foreign policy that is democratic, that is based on our fundamental values, and that uses power and influence for ~~humane~~ ^{human} ~~benign~~ purposes.

We can also have a foreign policy that the American people both support -- and understand.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

I have a ^{quiet} ~~calm~~ confidence in our own ^{political} system.

Because we know democracy works, we can reject the arguments of those rulers who deny human rights to their people.

^{Being} ~~Because we are~~ confident of ^{our own} ~~democracy's~~ future, we ^{now} are free of that inordinate fear of communism which once led us to embrace any dictator who joined us in our fear.

*
next
page

We are confident that democracy's example will be compelling, and so we seek to bring that example closer to ^{those from whom we have been separated and} ~~those~~ who are not yet convinced.

We are confident that democratic methods are the most effective, and so we are not tempted to employ improper tactics at home -- or abroad.

We are confident of our own strength, ^{so} ~~and [so]~~ we can ^{substantial mutual} seek ^a reductions in the nuclear arms race.

We are confident of the good sense of our own people,
and so we let them ^{share} ~~(in on)~~ the process of making foreign policy
decisions. We can ^{thus} ~~then~~ speak with the voices of 215 million,
^{just} not of a handful.

Democracy's great recent successes -- in India,
Portugal, Greece, Spain ~~[and the rest of Western Europe]~~ --
show that our confidence is not misplaced.

For too many years we have been willing to adopt the
flawed principles and tactics of our adversaries, sometimes
abandoning our values for theirs.

We fought fire with fire, never thinking that
fire is better fought with water.

This approach failed -- with Vietnam the best example
of its intellectual and moral poverty.

But through failure we have found our way back to
our own principles and values, and we have regained our
lost confidence.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

from
E-1

* →

[I intend to discuss our foreign policy with
the Congress and with the public, debating its premises.
We have suffered in the past when we acted without
seeking domestic consensus. We have suffered when our
leaders underestimated the ability and beneficial
influence of the American people in shaping and
consummating proper international programs. With this
public understanding and support, the President can
speak with a strong and sure voice.

We are a democracy, and our foreign policy will
succeed only if we act like one.]

* * * * *

By the ^{measure} ~~standards~~ of history, our nation's
two hundred years are brief; ^{and our} ~~our~~ rise to world eminence
~~a recent event. is brief still.~~
~~is an even more recent event.~~ It dates from 1945, when
Europe and the old international order ~~[that had been~~
~~dominated by Europe]~~ both lay in ruins. Before then,

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

~~Before World War II, we were largely on the~~
~~periphery of world affairs. Since 1945, when the~~
America was largely on the periphery of world affairs.
~~countries in Europe, and the world order that centered~~
Since then,
~~on it, both lay in ruins,~~ we have inescapably been at
the center.

We helped to build ^{solid}~~concrete~~ testaments to our
faith and purpose -- the United Nations, the North
Atlantic Treaty Organization, the World Bank, the
International Monetary Fund, and other institutions.
This international system has endured and worked well
for a quarter of a century.

Our policy during this period was guided by two
principles: a belief that Soviet ^{expansion}~~aggression~~ must be
contained, and the corresponding belief in the
importance of an almost exclusive alliance among
non-Communist nations on both sides of the Atlantic.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

That system could not last forever unchanged.

Historical trends have weakened its foundation.

The unifying threat of conflict with the Soviet Union has become less intensive -- even though the competition has become more extensive.

The Vietnamese war produced a profound moral crisis, sapping worldwide faith in our policy. The economic strains of the 1970's have weakened public confidence in the capacity of ~~the~~ industrial democracy to provide sustained wellbeing for its citizens, a crisis ^{of confidence} made even more grave by the covert pessimism of some of our leaders.

It is a familiar truth that the world today is in the midst of the most profound and rapid transformation in its entire history. In less than a generation the daily lives and the aspiration^s of most human beings have been transformed. Colonialism has ^{declined;} ~~gone~~ ^{knowledge} ~~gone~~ ^{nearby gone;}

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

Knowledge has become more widespread;
~~has become more widespread~~; aspirations are higher.

and a new sense of national identity exists ^{in almost} ~~(in the same)~~
one hundred new countries. As more people have been
freed from traditional constraints, more have become
determined to achieve social justice.

The world is still divided by ideological disputes,
dominated by regional conflicts, and threatened by the
danger that we will not resolve the differences of race
and wealth without violence or without drawing ^{into combat} ~~in~~ the
major military powers. We can no longer separate the
traditional issues of war and peace from the new global
questions of justice, equity, and human rights.

It is a new world -- but America should not fear
it. It is a new world -- and we should help to shape it.
It is a new world that calls for a new American foreign
policy -- a policy based on constant decency in its
values, and on optimism in its historical vision.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

We can no longer have a policy ^{solely} just for the industrial nations as the foundation of global stability, but we must respond to the new reality of a politically awakening ~~awakened~~ world.

We can no longer expect that ^{the other} 150 nations ~~of the~~ ~~world~~ will follow the dictates of the powerful, but we must continue -- confidently -- our efforts to inspire, and to persuade, and to lead.

Our policy must reflect our belief that the world can hope for more than simple survival -- and our belief that ~~democracy, human~~ dignity and freedom are man's fundamental spiritual requirements.

Our policy must ~~be designed to~~ shape an international system that will last longer than secret deals.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

We cannot make this kind of policy by manipulation.

Our policy must be open and candid; ~~it must be one of~~ ^{it must be one of}
~~constructive global involvement,~~
~~constructive global engagement,~~ resting on these five
cardinal premises:

First, our policy should ~~reflect our people's~~ ^{reflect our people's}
~~support and advance respect for~~
~~basic commitment to the cause of human rights.~~
~~basic commitment to promote the cause of human rights.~~

^{Next}
~~Second~~, our policy should be based on close coopera-
tion among the industrial democracies of ^{the world} ~~[Europe, North~~
~~America, and Japan]~~ -- because we share the same values
and because together we can help to shape a more decent
^{life for all.}
~~world.~~

~~Third~~, ^{also} Based on a strong defense capability, our
policy must ^{also} seek to improve relations with the Soviet
Union and with China in ways that are both more compre-
hensive and more reciprocal. Even if we cannot heal

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

ideological divisions, we must reach accommodations that reduce the risk of war.

Also
~~Fourth~~, our policy must reach out to the developing nations to alleviate suffering and to reduce the chasm between the world's rich and poor.

Finally,
~~Fifth~~, our policy must encourage all countries to rise above to ~~transcend~~ narrow national interests and work together to solve such formidable global problems as the threat of nuclear war, racial hatred, the arms race, environmental damage, hunger and disease.

Since last January we have begun to define and to set in motion a foreign policy based on these premises -- and I have tried to make these premises clear to the American people. Let me review what we have been doing and discuss what we intend to do.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

First, we have reaffirmed America's basic
commitment to human rights, ^{as a fundamental tenet of our foreign policy.} In ancestry, religion,
color, place of origin and cultural background, we
Americans are as diverse a nation as the world has
ever known. No common mystique of blood or soil unites
us. What draws us together, perhaps more than anything
else, is a belief in ~~certain basic~~ human ^{freedom} rights.

~~§~~ We want the world to know that our nation stands for
^{financial} prosperity.
more than ~~material consumption~~

This does not mean that we can conduct our
foreign policy by rigid moral maxims. We live in a
world that is imperfect and will always be imperfect --
a world that is complex and will always be complex. ~~§~~

I understand fully the limits of moral suasion. ~~§~~
illusion
I have no ~~illusion~~ that changes will come easily or soon.

But I also believe that it is a mistake to undervalue the

~~§~~ We will make human rights a fundamental
tenet of our foreign policy.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

INSERT
"A"

power of words and of the ideas that words embody.

In our own history that power has ranged from Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" to Martin Luther King, Jr's.

"I Have a Dream."

In the life of the Human spirit, words are action --
than many of us may realize who live in
much more so ~~in~~ countries where freedom of expression
~~cannot be taken~~ ^{is taken} for granted.

The leaders of totalitarian ~~[and authoritarian]~~
countries understand this very well. The proof is that
words are precisely the ^{action} ~~cause~~ for which dissidents in
those countries are being persecuted.

~~§~~ Nonetheless, we can already see dramatic worldwide
advances in the protection of the individual from the
arbitrary power of the state. ^{For us} ~~to~~ ignore this trend
would be to lose influence and moral authority in the
world. To lead it will be to regain the moral stature
we once had.

INSERT
"B"

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

All people will benefit from these advances.

~~INSERT~~
~~"B"~~

From free and open competition comes creative change --
in politics, commerce, science, and the arts. From
control comes conformity and despair.

The great democracies are not free because they
are strong and prosperous. I believe they are strong
and prosperous because they are free. *§*

Second, we have moved deliberately to reinforce
the bonds among our democracies. In our recent meetings
in London we agreed to widen our economic cooperation;
to promote ~~more~~ free trade; to strengthen the world's
monetary system; to seek ways of avoiding nuclear
proliferation; ~~and~~ we prepared constructive proposals
for the forthcoming meetings on North-South problems
of poverty, development, and global well-being; and we
agreed on joint efforts to reinforce and
modernize our common defence.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

Even more important, all of us reaffirmed our basic optimism in the future of the democratic system. ^{Our} The spirit of confidence is spreading. Together, our democracies can help to shape the wider architecture of global cooperation -- and the London meeting was a successful step toward this goal.

Third, we have moved to engage the Soviet Union in a joint effort to halt the strategic arms race. That not only race is ~~as politically~~ dangerous, ~~as~~ it is morally deplorable. ~~indecent~~. We must put an end to it.

I know it will not be easy to reach agreements. The issues are extraordinarily complex, ^{and} ~~and~~ American and Soviet interests, perceptions, and aspirations vary. We need to be both patient and prudent.

Our goal is to be fair to both sides, to produce reciprocal stability, parity, and security. ^{We} ~~Our~~ desire ~~for~~ a freeze on further modernization and continuing

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

substantial reductions of strategic weapons, ~~is sincere~~ ^{a deep conviction}.

We want a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing, a prohibition against chemical warfare, no attack capability against space satellites, ^{and arms limitations in the} ~~a demilitarized~~ Indian Ocean.

I hope that we can take joint steps with all nations towards eliminating nuclear weapons completely from our arsenals of death. We will persist.

I believe in detente with the Soviet Union. To me it means progress towards peace. But that progress must be both comprehensive and reciprocal. We cannot have accommodation in one part of the world and the aggravation of conflicts in another.

Nor should the effects of detente be limited to our two countries alone. We hope the Soviet leaders will join us in efforts to stop the spread of nuclear explosives and to reduce sales of conventional arms. We hope to

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

persuade the Soviet Union that one country cannot impose its own social system upon another, either through direct military intervention or through the use of a client state's military force -- as with the Cuban ~~[military]~~ intervention in Angola.

Cooperation also implies obligation. We ~~[also]~~ hope that the Soviet Union will join in playing a larger role in aiding the developing world, for common aid efforts will help us build a bridge of mutual confidence.

Fourth, we ^{are taking} ~~[have taken]~~ deliberate steps to improve the chances of lasting peace in the Middle East. ~~[We have done this in two ways:]~~

wide-ranging
Through ~~wideranging~~ consultations with the leaders of the countries involved, we have found some areas of agreement and some movement towards consensus. The negotiations must continue.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

Through my public comments, I have also tried to suggest a more flexible framework for the discussion of the three key issues which have so far been intractable: the nature of a comprehensive peace, the relationship between security and borders, and the issue of the Palestinian homeland.

The historic friendship between the United States and Israel is not dependent on domestic politics in either nation; it is derived from our common respect ^{from} ~~for~~ our common search for permanent for human freedom and ~~a continuing search for permanent~~ peace. ~~With that relationship as the foundation stone,~~ We will continue ~~we will persist in our ongoing efforts~~ to promote a settlement which all of us need. Our ^{own} policy will not be affected by changes in leadership in any of the countries in the Middle East. Therefore, we expect Israel_x and ^{her} ~~its Arab~~ neighbors_x to continue to be bound by

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

UN Resolutions 242 and 338, which they have previously accepted.

This may ~~still~~ be the most propitious time for a genuine settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict. To let this opportunity pass ^{could} mean disaster, not only for the Middle East, but perhaps for the international political and economic order as well.

Fifth, we are attempting, even at the risk of some friction with our friends, to ^{reduce the danger of} ~~contain the two~~ ~~basic threats to global peace~~ nuclear proliferation and the worldwide spread of conventional arms.

At the recent Summit there was general agreement that proliferation of explosives from reprocessing ^{of} ~~of~~ nuclear wastes is a serious issue. We have now set in

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

motion an international effort to determine the best ways of harnessing nuclear energy for peaceful use, while reducing the risks that ^{its products} it will be diverted to the making of explosives. -military purposes-

We have also completed a comprehensive review of our own policy on arms transfers. ^{Competition in arms sales is ~~harmful~~ ^{inimical} to peace and destructive to the economic development of the poorer countries.} We will, as a matter of national policy, seek to reduce the annual dollar volume of arms sales, to restrict the transfer of advanced weaponry, and to reduce the extent of our co-production arrangements with foreign states. Just as important, we are trying to get other nations to join us in this effort.

* * * *

All of this is just the beginning. But it is a beginning aimed towards a clear goal: to create a wider framework of international cooperation suited to the new historical circumstances.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

We will cooperate more closely with the newly influential countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. We need their friendship and cooperation in a ~~common~~ ^{wider} ~~join~~ effort as the structure of world power changes.

More than 100 years ago, Abraham Lincoln said that our nation could not exist half slave and half free. We know that a peaceful world cannot long exist one-third rich and two-thirds ~~poor~~ ^{hungry}.

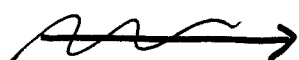
Most nations share our faith that, in the long-run, expanded and equitable trade will best help developing countries to help themselves. But the ^{immediate} ~~long-run is too~~ ~~far off, and the~~ problems of hunger, disease, illiteracy and repression are here now.

The Western democracies, the OPEC nations, and ^{communist} ~~even~~ the developed ~~socialist~~ countries can cooperate through existing international institutions in providing

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

more effective aid. This is an excellent alternative
to war.

IN
RT



We have a special need for cooperation and
consultation with other nations in this hemisphere.
We do not need another slogan; although these are our
close friends and neighbors, ^{our} ~~the~~ links ~~we build~~ with them
are the same links of equality that we ^{forge} ~~build~~ with the
rest of the world. We will be dealing with them as
part of a new worldwide mosaic of global, regional and
bilateral relations.

It is important that we make progress ^{toward} ~~in~~
normalizing relations with the People's Republic of
China. We see the American-Chinese relationship as a
central element of our global policy, and China as a
key force for global peace. We wish to cooperate
closely with the creative Chinese people on the

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

problems that confront all mankind. We hope to find
a formula which can bridge some of the difficulties
that still separate us.

~~Finally~~ Finally, let me say that we are committed to ^athe
peaceful resolution of the ^{crisis in}Southern African ^{crisis}conflict.

INSERT
"B"

~~[We believe that]~~ The time has come for the principle of
majority rule to be the basis for political order, ^{recognizing}
^{that in a democratic system the rights of the minority must}
~~There is no room left for racism or colonialism in this~~ ^{also be protected.}

~~world. We hope that these changes will be peaceful --~~

~~but~~ to be peaceful, ^{these} changes must ^{come}be promptly ~~done~~ The

United States is determined to work together with our
European Allies and the concerned African states to
shape a congenial international framework for the rapid
and progressive transformation of Southern African
society and to help protect it from unwarranted outside
interference.

* * * * *
Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

Let me conclude:

Our policy is based on an historical vision of
America's role;

It is derived from a larger view of global
change;

It is rooted in our moral values;

It is reinforced by our material wealth and by
our military power;

It is designed to serve mankind;

And it is a policy that I hope will make you
proud to be American.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

NOTRE DAME SPEECH

Last week I spoke in California about the domestic agenda for our nation. Our challenge in the next few years is to provide more efficiently for the needs of our people, to demonstrate -- against the dark faith of the times -- that our government can be both competent and humane.

I want to speak today about our foreign agenda, and about the strands that connect our actions overseas with our essential character as a nation.

I believe we can have a foreign policy that is democratic, that is based on our fundamental values, ^{and} that uses power ^{and influence} for humane

^{Purpose} [I also believe that] ^{also} we can have a foreign policy that the American people both support -- and understand.

^{Policy} I intend to resist the temptation merely to proclaim a foreign policy, based on secret premises, rather than to openly discuss it ^{our foreign} with the people, ^{the Congress and with the public,} debating its premises. [To succumb to such a temptation may help a President in the short run; but as the years go by our country inevitably pays the price.] We have suffered in the past when we acted without seeking domestic consensus. We have suffered when our leaders ^{the underestimated the ability} abused our essential willingness ^{and beneficial influence of the American people in} to believe that the cause of "national security" would not be taken in ^{shaping and consummating of proper international} vain. ^{programs. With this public understanding and} support, the President can speak with a strong and sure ^{voice} [That is why I have been determined to speak openly on our

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

Copy Carter Library

foreign policy, to expose its premises to scrutiny and debate -- even at the risk of controversy.

In the long-run, this is the only way we can negotiate successfully and make plausible commitments overseas. If we were a dictatorship, a president could rule by fiat.] We are a democracy, and our foreign policy will succeed only if we act like one.

* * * *

By the standards of history, our nation's two hundred years are brief; our rise to world eminence is an even more recent event. Before World War II, we were largely on the periphery of world affairs. Since 1945, when the countries in Europe, and the world order that centered on it, both lay in ruins, we have inescapably been at the center.

Our policy during this period was guided by two principles: a belief that Soviet aggression must be contained, and the corresponding belief in the importance of ^{an almost exclusive} the alliance among non-Communist nations on both sides of the Atlantic.

We helped to build concrete testaments to our faith and purpose-- the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other institutions. The international system ^{has} [we shaped helped us to avoid war with the Soviet Union and to expand prosperity around the world.] endured and worked well for a quarter of a century.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

That system could not last forever, ^{unchanged.} Historical ^{trends have} [change has] weakened its foundations. The unifying threat of conflict with the Soviet Union has become less intensive -- even though the competition has become more extensive. The Vietnamese war produced a profound moral crisis, sapping ^{worldwide} [public] faith in our policy. The economic strains of the 1970's have weakened public confidence in the capacity of the industrial democracy to provide sustained wellbeing for its citizens, [No wonder that some have ^{creating} spoken of the political and cultural crisis in the west --] a crisis made ^{even} more grave by the ^{covert} [historical] pessimism of some of our leaders.

(hopes) It is a familiar truth [-- but a truth so fundamental that it needs restatement --] that the world today is in the midst of the most profound and rapid transformation in its entire history. In less than a generation the daily lives and the aspirations of ^{most human beings} [much of mankind] have been transformed. Colonialism has gone; ^{knowledge} [literacy] has become more widespread; ^{aspirations are higher} [there are better health services]; and a new sense of national identity ^{exists} in the some one hundred new ^{countries.} [states]. As more ^{people have} [of mankind has] been freed from traditional constraints, more have become determined to achieve social justice.

The world is still divided by ideological disputes, dominated by regional conflicts, and threatened by the danger that we will not resolve the ^{differences of race and wealth} [struggles] between black and white in Southern Africa]

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

without violence or without drawing in the major ^{military} powers. We can no longer separate the traditional issues of war and peace from the new global questions of justice, equity, and human rights.

It is a new world -- but America should not fear it. It is a new world -- and we should help to shape it. It is a new world that calls for a new American foreign policy -- a policy based on ^{constant} decency in its values, and on optimism in its historical vision.

We can no longer have a policy just for the industrial nations, ^{as} [although they are] the foundation of global stability, but ^{we must} [one which] responds to the new reality of ^a the politically awakened [mankind] world.

We can no longer expect that [the] 150 nations of the world will follow ^{the dictates of the} [our dictation, though we remain] powerful, but we must continue -- confidently -- our efforts to inspire, [to compromise,] and to persuade, and to lead.

[Our policy can no longer be limited to questions of peace and war, though ultimately they surpass all others. It must also address itself to questions of poverty, human dignity, and managing the global resources on which we all depend.]

Our policy must reflect our belief that the world can hope for more than simple survival -- and our belief that democracy, ^{dignity and} and human freedom are man's fundamental spiritual requirements.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

Our policy must be designed to shape an international system that will last longer than ^{secret} deals.

We cannot make this kind of policy by manipulation. [We
Our policy must be open and candid.
can only do it by candidly letting the rest of the world know what we stand for and by showing that we are willing to take each painstaking step toward completion of a system within which all of us, in this unruly and often unjust world, can resolve our differences.]

^{It} [Our policy] must be one of constructive global engagement, resting on these five cardinal premises:

First, our policy should reflect our people's basic commitment to the cause of human rights.

Second, our policy should be based on ^{close cooperation} [a close relationship] among the industrial democracies of Europe, North America, and Japan -- because we share the same values and because together we can help to shape a more decent world.

China Third, ^{based on a strong defense capability,} our policy must seek to improve relations with the ^{and with China} Soviet Union, in ways that are both more comprehensive and more reciprocal. Even if we cannot ^{heal} [end] [the] ideological division [of mankind], we must reach [an] accommodation that reduces the risk of war.

Fourth, our policy must reach out to the developing nations ^{to alleviate suffering and} [and help shape international arrangements] to reduce the ^{chasm} [divisions] between the world's rich and poor.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

Fifth, our policy must encourage all countries to transcend
[their] narrow national interests and work together to solve such
formidable global problems as ^{the threat of} nuclear ^{war, racial hatred,} proliferation, the arms
race, [energy,] environmental damage, ^{hunger and disease.} [and inadequate nutrition
and health care.]

Since last January we have ^{begun} [sought consistently] to define and
to set in motion a foreign policy based on these premises -- and I
have tried to make these premises clear to the American people.
Let me review what we have been doing and discuss what we intend
to do.

First, we have reaffirmed America's basic commitment to
human rights. In ancestry, religion, color, place of origin and
cultural background, we Americans are as diverse a nation
as the world has ever known. No ^{common} mystique of blood or soil unites
us. What draws us together, perhaps more than anything else, is
a belief in certain basic human rights. [In making a due regard for
these rights an important part of our country's foreign policy, I have
been trying, very simply, to ensure that our behavior in the world
is consistent with the best that is in us as a people. In our hearts,
^{We want the world to know that} Americans know] our nation stands for more than material consumption. [?]

^{This} [An emphasis on human rights] does not mean that we can conduct
our foreign policy by rigidly applying moral maxims. We live in

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

a world that is imperfect and will always be imperfect -- a world that is complex and will always be complex.

[We can only do our best. We will consider all aspects of our foreign policy in the light of human rights. We will take action where action is appropriate, in terms of aid programs, for example -- though I would caution that our policymakers must be entrusted with the flexibility that alone can make this kind of action effective. We will apply pressure privately when we think it will produce better results. And of course, we will continue to express our own belief in human rights and commitment to them.] I understand fully the limits of moral suasion. I have no illusion that changes will come easily or soon. But I also believe that it is a mistake to undervalue the power of words and [particularly] of the ideas that words embody. In our own history that power has ranged from Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" to Martin Luther King, Jr's. "I Have a Dream."

In the life of the human spirit, words are action -- much more so [than many of us who live] in countries where freedom of expression ^{cannot be} [is] taken for granted [may realize]

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

The leaders of totalitarian and authoritarian countries understand this very well. The proof is that words are precisely the ^{cause} [action] for which dissidents in those countries are being persecuted [in the first place.]

Nonetheless, ^{we can already} [I am quite convinced that in this century we will] see dramatic worldwide advances in the protection of the individual from the arbitrary power of the state. [I believe this trend has already begun.] To ignore ^{this} [the] trend would be to lose influence and moral authority in the world. To lead it will be to regain the moral stature we once had.

All ^{people} [countries] will benefit from these advances. From free and open competition comes creative change -- in politics, commerce, science, and the arts. From control comes conformity, ^{and despair.}

The great democracies are not free because they are ^{strong and} prosperous [-- rich enough to afford the luxury of freedom.] I believe they are ^{strong and} prosperous because they are free. [- since democracy is the most productive way to manage human affairs.]

Second, we have moved deliberately to reinforce the bonds ^{among} [between] our democracies. [I recently attended the 7-Nation Summit in London, followed by a larger NATO Summit meeting. In these]

*all
democracies*
In our recent ~~to~~ ^{in London we agreed}
(meetings ~~we~~ ^{we} took steps) to widen our economic cooperation; [we agreed
on the need] to promote more free trade; [we undertook] to strengthen
the world's monetary system; [we committed ourselves] to seek ways
of avoiding nuclear proliferation; and we prepared constructive proposals
for the forthcoming meetings on North-South problems of poverty,
development, and global well-being.

all of us
Even more important, [we] reaffirmed [together] our basic optimism
in the future of the democratic system. [I believe] the spirit of con-
fidence is spreading. Together, our democracies can ^{help to} shape the wider
architecture of global cooperation -- and the London meeting was a
successful step toward this goal.

Third, we have moved to engage the Soviet Union in a joint effort
to halt the strategic arms race. That race is as politically dangerous
as it is morally indecent. We must put an end to it.

*list
issues
etc.*
I know it will not be easy to reach agreements. The [strategic]
issues are extraordinarily complex, ^{and} [as I have learned in many hours
of study.] American and Soviet interests, perceptions, and aspirations
vary. We need to be both patient and prudent.

and security,
Our goal is to be fair to both sides, to produce reciprocal stability, parity,
[and parity] [I will make no agreement that jeopardizes our security.]

substantial
Our desire for [strategic] ^{substantial} reductions and for a freeze on further
modernization of strategic weapons is sincere. ^{and continuing substantial reductions} We want a comprehensive
ban on nuclear testing, a prohibition against chemical
warfare, no attack capability against space satellites, a
demilitarized Indian Ocean,

I hope that [before too long] we can [begin to] take joint steps *with all*
nations towards eliminating nuclear weapons ^{*s completely*} from our arsenals of death.

We will persist.

I believe in detente, ^{*with the Soviet Union.*} To me it means progress towards peace.

But that progress must be both comprehensive and reciprocal. We cannot have accommodation in one part of the world and the aggravation of conflicts in another. [We cannot accept a double standard under which our insistence on human rights is treated as unwarranted intervention, while those who encourage violence, and undermine peace efforts -- as in Southern Africa -- claim merely to be exercising a legitimate historical right.]

Nor should the effects of detente be limited to our two countries alone. We hope the Soviet leaders will join us in efforts to stop the spread of nuclear ^{*explosive*} [weapons] and to ^{*reduce*} [control] sales of conventional arms. We hope to agree on [rules] limiting intervention by either power -- or its proxy -- in the internal affairs of other countries as well. We hope to persuade the Soviet Union that one country cannot impose its own social system upon another, either through direct military intervention or through the use of a client state's military force -- as with the Cuban military intervention in Angola.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

Cooperation also implies obligation. [If the Soviet Union wants continued access to Western food, technology and credits, it should be willing to give something in return. It should, for example, stabilize its purchases and hold stocks of its own rather than disrupt world price stability by massive purchases when its own harvests fall short. It must also be willing to provide essential information on its harvest, stocks, and food needs, so that we can create an orderly and predictable food market.] We also hope that the the Soviet Union will join in playing a larger role in aiding the developing world, for common aid efforts will help us build a bridge of mutual confidence.

Fourth, we have taken deliberate steps to improve the chances of lasting peace in the Middle East. We have done this in two ways:

Through wideranging consultations with the leaders of the countries involved, we have found some areas of agreement and some movement towards consensus. [Although wide areas of disagreement remain, we believe progress has been made.] The negotiations must continue.

Through my public comments, I have also tried to suggest a more flexible framework for the discussion of the three key issues which have so far been intractable: the nature of ^{a comprehensive} peace, the relationship between security and borders, and the issue of the Palestinian homeland.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

[I do not intend to impose a settlement. I only want to help
the parties involved think more flexibly about the larger issues.]
~~This~~ ^{still}
~~Today~~ may be the most propitious time for a genuine settlement
since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict. To let this opportunity
pass, could mean disaster, not only for the Middle East, but perhaps
for the international political and economic order as well.

^{are attempting,}
Fifth, we [have attempted] even at the risk of some friction, ^{with}
^{our friends,}
to contain the two basic threats to global peace: nuclear proliferation
and the worldwide spread of ^{conventional} arms.

At the recent Summit ^{there was} [we [sought and] obtained] general agreement
that proliferation ^{of atomic explosives from reprocessing of nuclear wastes} is a serious issue. [We recognize that other nations
need nuclear energy for their economic well-being, but we must also
avoid short-range decisions for which our children and grandchildren
will have to pay.] We have ^{now} set in motion an international effort to
determine the best ways of harnessing nuclear energy for peaceful
use, while reducing the risks that it will be diverted to military purposes.

We have also completed a comprehensive review of our own policy
on arms transfers. ^{We} [From now on, we] will, as a matter of national
policy, seek to reduce the annual dollar volume of ^{arms sales} [our commitments
to transfer arms] to restrict the transfer of advanced weaponry, and
to reduce the extent of our co-production arrangements with foreign
states. Just as important, we are trying to get other ^{nations} [states] to join us
in this ^{effort.} [endeavor.]

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

* * * * *

All of this is just the beginning. But it is a beginning aimed towards a clear goal: to create a wider framework of international cooperation suited to the new historical circumstances.

[Much remains to be done, and we will concentrate on other issues too in the months ahead.]

[The basis of this framework will be the bond between Japan, North America, and Europe. But we cannot neglect the newly influential countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia. [We need to cooperate more closely with such nations, both directly and through international institutions. As] the structure of world power changes, [our relations must be adapted accordingly.]

More than a 100 years ago, Abraham Lincoln said that our nation could not exist half slave and half free. [In our souls] We know that -- morally, militarily, economically -- our world cannot long exist one-third rich and two-thirds poor.

Most [of the developing world shares] our faith that, in the long-run, expanded trade will best help [them] to help themselves. But the long-run is too far off, and the problems of hunger, disease, illiteracy, and repression [world trade inequities] are here now. ~~Existing international institutions can provide an opportunity for effective cooperation among developed nations. The Western democracies, the OPEC nations, and even the developed socialist countries can cooperate through existing international institutions in providing more effective aid. This is an excellent alternative to war.~~

[We can provide immediate help, and at the same time improve the prospects, for worldwide prosperity, by strengthening the institutional bonds that link the developing nations' fate with our own -- through the Global Development Program which I have proposed, and through additional cooperation between such bodies as the OECD, the IMF, OPEC, and others as well. The United States recognizes that the rich states have both a moral and a political obligation to do more to promote stable growth in the developing countries.]

[Not long ago, I also spoke of our relations with Latin America, which my wife, Rosalyn, will soon visit. At that time, I stressed that *We have a special need for cooperation and consultation with other nations in this hemisphere.* the time is past for new labels to describe our relations in this hemisphere.] We do not need another slogan; *although these Latin American nations are our close friends and neighbors,* but the links we hope to build with them are *The same of equality* links that we build with the rest of the world.

We will be dealing with them [as we deal with all other nations] as part of a new worldwide mosaic of global, regional and bilateral relations.

It is important that
[In the months ahead, I hope] we make progress in normalizing [our] relations with the People's Republic of China. We see the American-Chinese relationship as a central element of our global

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

policy, and China as a key force for global peace. [We believe there is but one China.] We wish to cooperate closely with the creative Chinese people on the problems that confront all mankind. We hope to find a formula which can bridge some of the difficulties that still separate us.

Finally, let me say that we are committed to the peaceful resolution of the Southern African conflict. We believe that the time has come for the principle of majority rule to be the basis for political order. There is no room left for racism or colonialism in this world. We hope that ^{these changes} [change to majority rule] will be peaceful -- [and we are prepared to assist that change.] ^{these changes} but to be peaceful, [that change] must be prompt, ~~and~~ ^{work} and the United States is determined to ^{work} [promote it] together with ^{our European} [the United ~~Allies~~ Kingdom] and the concerned African states. [In so doing, we are pursuing a new policy for Africa -- a policy which we have designed on the basis of principle and not expediency. In keeping with this policy, we are also prepared] to shape a congenial international framework for the ^{rapid and} progressive transformation of ^{southern} [the South] African society [to assist that process] and to help protect it from ^{unwarranted} outside interference. [provided such progressive transformation is meaningful and responsive.]

* * * * *

Let me conclude:

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

Our policy is based on an historical vision of America's role;

It is derived from a larger view of global change;

It is rooted in our moral values;

It is reinforced by our material wealth and by our military power;

It is designed to serve mankind;

And it is a policy that I hope will make you proud to be American.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Send to
Tim F. Clout

M. J.

NOTRE DAME SPEECH
SOUTH BEND, INDIANA
MAY 22, 1977

IN HIS 25 YEARS AS PRESIDENT OF
NOTRE DAME, FATHER HESBURGH HAS SPOKEN
MORE CONSISTENTLY AND EFFECTIVELY IN
SUPPORT OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN BEINGS
THAN ANY AMERICAN I KNOW.

HIS INTEREST IN THE NOTRE DAME
CENTER FOR CIVIL RIGHTS HAS NEVER
WAVERED, AND HE PLAYED AN IMPORTANT

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

ROLE IN

ROLE IN BROADENING THE SCOPE OF THE
CENTER'S WORK TO INCLUDE ALL PEOPLE
-- AS SHOWN IN LAST MONTH'S CONFERENCE
HERE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND AMERICAN
FOREIGN POLICY.

THAT CONCERN HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED
AGAIN TODAY BY THE SELECTION OF BISHOP
DONAL LAMONT, PAUL CARDINAL ARNS, AND
STEPHEN CARDINAL KIM TO RECEIVE
HONORARY DEGREES. IN THEIR FIGHT
FOR HUMAN FREEDOMS IN RHODESIA,
BRAZIL AND SOUTH KOREA, THESE THREE
RELIGIOUS LEADERS TYPIFY ALL THAT
IS BEST IN THEIR COUNTRIES AND IN
THEIR CHURCH. I AM HONORED TO JOIN

YOU IN RECOGNIZING THEIR DEDICATION
AND PERSONAL SACRIFICE.

(STORY ABOUT BED ON FIRE)

LAST WEEK I SPOKE IN CALIFORNIA
ABOUT THE DOMESTIC AGENDA FOR OUR
NATION -- ~~OUR CHALLENGE IN THE NEXT~~
~~FEW YEARS IS~~ TO PROVIDE MORE
EFFICIENTLY FOR THE NEEDS OF OUR
PEOPLE, TO DEMONSTRATE -- AGAINST
THE DARK FAITH OF THE TIMES -- THAT
OUR GOVERNMENT CAN BE BOTH COMPETENT
AND HUMANE.

I WANT TO SPEAK TODAY ABOUT THE
STRANDS THAT CONNECT OUR ACTIONS

OVERSEAS WITH

OVERSEAS WITH OUR ESSENTIAL CHARACTER
AS A NATION.

I BELIEVE WE CAN HAVE A FOREIGN
POLICY THAT IS DEMOCRATIC, THAT IS
BASED ON OUR FUNDAMENTAL VALUES,
AND THAT USES POWER AND INFLUENCE FOR
HUMANE PURPOSES. WE CAN ALSO HAVE
A FOREIGN POLICY THAT THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE BOTH SUPPORT -- AND UNDERSTAND.

I HAVE A QUIET CONFIDENCE IN
OUR OWN POLITICAL SYSTEM.

BECAUSE WE KNOW DEMOCRACY WORKS.
WE CAN REJECT THE ARGUMENTS OF THOSE

RULERS WHO DENY HUMAN RIGHTS TO THEIR
PEOPLE.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT DEMOCRACY'S
EXAMPLE WILL BE COMPELLING, AND SO WE
SEEK TO BRING THAT EXAMPLE CLOSER TO
THOSE FROM WHOM WE HAVE BEEN SEPARATED
AND WHO ARE NOT YET CONVINCED.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT DEMOCRATIC
METHODS ARE THE MOST EFFECTIVE, AND
SO WE ARE NOT TEMPTED TO EMPLOY
IMPROPER TACTICS AT HOME -- OR
ABROAD.

WE ARE CONFIDENT OF OUR OWN
STRENGTH, SO WE CAN SEEK SUBSTANTIAL

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

MUTUAL REDUCTIONS

MUTUAL REDUCTIONS IN THE NUCLEAR ARMS
RACE.

WE ARE CONFIDENT OF THE GOOD
SENSE OF OUR OWN PEOPLE, AND SO WE
LET THEM SHARE THE PROCESS OF MAKING
FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS. WE CAN
THUS SPEAK WITH THE VOICES OF 215
MILLION, NOT JUST OF A HANDFUL.

DEMOCRACY'S GREAT RECENT
SUCCESSES -- IN INDIA, PORTUGAL,
GREECE, SPAIN -- SHOW THAT OUR
CONFIDENCE IS NOT MISPLACED.

BEING CONFIDENT OF OUR OWN
FUTURE, WE ARE NOW FREE OF THAT

INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL POVERTY.

BUT THROUGH FAILURE WE HAVE FOUND
OUR WAY BACK TO OUR OWN PRINCIPLES
AND VALUES, AND WE HAVE REGAINED OUR
LOST CONFIDENCE.

BY THE MEASURE OF HISTORY, OUR
NATION'S TWO HUNDRED YEARS ARE BRIEF;
AND OUR RISE TO WORLD EMINENCE IS
BRIEFER STILL. IT DATES FROM 1945,
WHEN EUROPE AND THE OLD INTERNATIONAL
ORDER BOTH LAY IN RUINS. BEFORE THEN,
AMERICA WAS LARGELY ON THE PERIPHERY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS. SINCE THEN, WE
HAVE INESCAPABLY BEEN AT THE CENTER.

NATIONS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC.

THAT SYSTEM COULD NOT LAST
FOREVER UNCHANGED. HISTORICAL TRENDS
HAVE WEAKENED ITS FOUNDATION. THE
UNIFYING THREAT OF CONFLICT WITH THE
SOVIET UNION HAS BECOME LESS INTENSIVE
-- EVEN THOUGH THE COMPETITION HAS
BECOME MORE EXTENSIVE.

THE VIETNAMESE WAR PRODUCED A
PROFOUND MORAL CRISIS, SAPPING
WORLDWIDE FAITH IN OUR POLICY. [THE
ECONOMIC STRAINS OF THE 1970'S HAVE
WEAKENED PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE
CAPACITY OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY TO
PROVIDE SUSTAINED WELLBEING FOR ITS

CITIZENS,] A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE MADE
EVEN MORE GRAVE BY THE COVERT PESSIMISM
OF SOME OF OUR LEADERS.

[IT IS A FAMILIAR TRUTH THAT THE
WORLD TODAY IS IN THE MIDST OF THE
MOST PROFOUND AND RAPID TRANSFORMATION
IN ITS ENTIRE HISTORY.] IN LESS THAN
A GENERATION THE DAILY LIVES AND THE
ASPIRATIONS OF MOST HUMAN BEINGS
HAVE BEEN TRANSFORMED. COLONIALISM
HAS NEARLY GONE; A NEW SENSE OF NATIONAL
IDENTITY EXISTS IN ALMOST ONE HUNDRED
NEW COUNTRIES; KNOWLEDGE HAS BECOME
MORE WIDESPREAD; ASPIRATIONS ARE
HIGHER. AS MORE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

FREED FROM

FREED FROM TRADITIONAL CONSTRAINTS,
MORE HAVE BECOME DETERMINED TO
ACHIEVE SOCIAL JUSTICE.

THE WORLD IS STILL DIVIDED BY
IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTES, DOMINATED BY
REGIONAL CONFLICTS, AND THREATENED
BY THE DANGER THAT WE WILL NOT
RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES OF RACE
AND WEALTH WITHOUT VIOLENCE OR
WITHOUT DRAWING INTO COMBAT THE
MAJOR MILITARY POWERS. WE CAN NO
LONGER SEPARATE THE TRADITIONAL
ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE FROM THE
NEW GLOBAL QUESTIONS OF JUSTICE,
EQUITY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

IT IS A NEW WORLD -- BUT AMERICA
SHOULD NOT FEAR IT. IT IS A NEW
WORLD -- AND WE SHOULD HELP TO SHAPE
IT. IT IS A NEW WORLD THAT CALLS
FOR A NEW AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
-- A POLICY BASED ON CONSTANT DECENCY
IN ITS VALUES, AND ON OPTIMISM IN ITS
HISTORICAL VISION.

WE CAN NO LONGER HAVE A POLICY
SOLELY FOR THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS
AS THE FOUNDATION OF GLOBAL STABILITY,
BUT WE MUST RESPOND TO THE NEW REALITY
OF A POLITICALLY AWAKENING WORLD.

WE CAN NO LONGER EXPECT THAT
THE OTHER 150 NATIONS WILL FOLLOW

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

THE DICTATES OF

THE DICTATES OF THE POWERFUL, BUT WE
MUST CONTINUE -- CONFIDENTLY -- OUR
EFFORTS TO INSPIRE, AND TO PERSUADE,
AND TO LEAD.

OUR POLICY MUST REFLECT OUR
BELIEF THAT THE WORLD CAN HOPE FOR
MORE THAN SIMPLE SURVIVAL -- AND OUR
BELIEF THAT DIGNITY AND FREEDOM ARE
[~~MAN'S~~] FUNDAMENTAL SPIRITUAL REQUIRE-
MENTS.

OUR POLICY MUST SHAPE AN
INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM THAT WILL LAST
LONGER THAN SECRET DEALS.

WE CANNOT MAKE THIS KIND OF

POLICY BY MANIPULATION. OUR POLICY
MUST BE OPEN AND CANDID; IT MUST BE
ONE OF CONSTRUCTIVE GLOBAL INVOLVEMENT,
RESTING ON THESE FIVE CARDINAL PREMISES:

FIRST, OUR POLICY SHOULD REFLECT
OUR PEOPLE'S BASIC COMMITMENT TO
PROMOTE THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

NEXT, OUR POLICY SHOULD BE
BASED ON CLOSE COOPERATION AMONG
THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES OF THE
WORLD -- BECAUSE WE SHARE THE SAME
VALUES AND BECAUSE TOGETHER WE CAN
HELP TO SHAPE A MORE DECENT LIFE
FOR ALL.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

*SINCE LAST
JANUARY*

BASED ON A STRONG DEFENSE
CAPABILITY, OUR POLICY MUST ALSO SEEK
TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET
UNION AND WITH CHINA IN WAYS THAT
ARE BOTH MORE COMPREHENSIVE AND
MORE RECIPROCAL. EVEN IF WE CANNOT
HEAL IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS, WE MUST
REACH ACCOMMODATIONS THAT REDUCE
THE RISK OF WAR.

ALSO, OUR POLICY MUST REACH OUT
TO THE DEVELOPING NATIONS TO ALLEVIATE
SUFFERING AND TO REDUCE THE CHASM
BETWEEN THE WORLD'S RICH AND POOR.

FINALLY, OUR POLICY MUST
ENCOURAGE ALL COUNTRIES TO RISE ABOVE

NARROW NATIONAL INTERESTS AND WORK
TOGETHER TO SOLVE SUCH FORMIDABLE
GLOBAL PROBLEMS AS THE THREAT OF
NUCLEAR WAR, RACIAL HATRED, THE ARMS
RACE, ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE, HUNGER
AND DISEASE.

SINCE LAST JANUARY [WE HAVE
BEGUN TO DEFINE AND TO SET IN MOTION
A FOREIGN POLICY BASED ON THESE
PREMISES - AND] I HAVE TRIED TO
MAKE THESE PREMISES CLEAR TO THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE. LET ME REVIEW
WHAT WE HAVE BEEN DOING AND DISCUSS
WHAT WE INTEND TO DO.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

FIRST, WE HAVE

FIRST, WE HAVE REAFFIRMED
AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS
AS A FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF OUR FOREIGN
POLICY. IN ANCESTRY, RELIGION, COLOR,
PLACE OF ORIGIN AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND,
WE AMERICANS ARE AS DIVERSE A NATION
AS THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN. NO
COMMON MYSTIQUE OF BLOOD OR SOIL
UNITES US. WHAT DRAWS US TOGETHER,
PERHAPS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, IS
A BELIEF IN HUMAN FREEDOM. WE WANT
THE WORLD TO KNOW THAT OUR NATION
STANDS FOR MORE THAN FINANCIAL
PROSPERITY.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE CAN
CONDUCT OUR FOREIGN POLICY BY RIGID

MORAL MAXIMS. WE LIVE IN A WORLD THAT
IS IMPERFECT AND WILL ALWAYS BE
IMPERFECT -- A WORLD THAT IS COMPLEX
AND WILL ALWAYS BE COMPLEX.

I UNDERSTAND FULLY THE LIMITS
OF MORAL SUASION. I HAVE NO ILLUSION
THAT CHANGES WILL COME EASILY OR
SOON. BUT I ALSO BELIEVE THAT IT
IS A MISTAKE TO UNDERVALUE THE
POWER OF WORDS AND OF THE IDEAS
THAT WORDS EMBODY. IN OUR OWN
HISTORY THAT POWER HAS RANGED FROM
THOMAS PAINE'S "COMMON SENSE" TO
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'S "I HAVE
A DREAM."

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

IN THE LIFE

IN THE LIFE OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT,
WORDS ARE ACTION -- MUCH MORE SO THAN
MANY OF US MAY REALIZE WHO LIVE IN
COUNTRIES WHERE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION
IS TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

THE LEADERS OF TOTALITARIAN
COUNTRIES UNDERSTAND THIS VERY WELL.
THE PROOF IS THAT WORDS ARE PRECISELY
THE ACTION FOR WHICH DISSIDENTS IN
THOSE COUNTRIES ARE BEING PERSECUTED.

NONETHELESS, WE CAN ALREADY SEE
DRAMATIC WORLDWIDE ADVANCES IN THE
PROTECTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL FROM
THE ARBITRARY POWER OF THE STATE.

FOR US TO IGNORE THIS TREND WOULD BE
TO LOSE INFLUENCE AND MORAL AUTHORITY
IN THE WORLD. TO LEAD IT WILL BE TO
REGAIN THE MORAL STATURE WE ONCE HAD.

ALL PEOPLE WILL BENEFIT FROM
THESE ADVANCES. FROM FREE AND OPEN
COMPETITION COMES CREATIVE CHANGE --
IN POLITICS, COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND
THE ARTS. FROM CONTROL COMES CON-
FORMITY AND DESPAIR.

THE GREAT DEMOCRACIES ARE NOT
FREE BECAUSE THEY ARE STRONG AND
PROSPEROUS. I BELIEVE THEY ARE
STRONG AND PROSPEROUS BECAUSE THEY
ARE FREE.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

SECOND, WE HAVE

SECOND, WE HAVE MOVED DELIBERATELY TO REINFORCE THE BONDS AMONG OUR DEMOCRACIES. IN OUR RECENT MEETINGS IN LONDON WE AGREED TO WIDEN OUR ECONOMIC COOPERATION; TO PROMOTE FREE TRADE; TO STRENGTHEN THE WORLD'S MONETARY SYSTEM; TO SEEK WAYS OF AVOIDING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION; WE PREPARED CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS FOR THE FORTHCOMING MEETINGS ON NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEMS OF POVERTY, DEVELOPMENT, AND GLOBAL WELL-BEING; AND WE AGREED ON JOINT EFFORTS TO REINFORCE AND MODERNIZE OUR COMMON DEFENSE.

EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, ALL OF US REAFFIRMED OUR BASIC OPTIMISM IN

THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.
 OUR SPIRIT OF CONFIDENCE IS SPREADING.
 TOGETHER, OUR DEMOCRACIES CAN HELP TO
SHAPE THE WIDER ARCHITECTURE OF
 GLOBAL COOPERATION. ~~[-- AND THE LONDON~~
~~MEETING WAS A SUCCESSFUL STEP TOWARD~~
~~THIS GOAL.]~~

THIRD, WE HAVE MOVED TO ENGAGE
 THE SOVIET UNION IN A JOINT EFFORT
 TO HALT THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE.
 THAT RACE IS NOT ONLY DANGEROUS, IT
 IS MORALLY DEPLORABLE. WE MUST PUT
 AN END TO IT.

I KNOW IT WILL NOT BE EASY TO
 REACH AGREEMENTS. ~~[THE ISSUES ARE~~

Electrostatic Copy Made
 for Preservation Purposes

OUR GOAL IS

EXTRAORDINARILY COMPLEX, AND AMERICAN
AND SOVIET INTERESTS, PERCEPTIONS,
AND ASPIRATIONS VARY. WE NEED TO
BE BOTH PATIENT AND PRUDENT.]

OUR GOAL IS TO BE FAIR TO BOTH
SIDES, TO PRODUCE RECIPROCAL STABILITY,
PARITY, AND SECURITY. WE DESIRE A
FREEZE ON FURTHER MODERNIZATION AND
CONTINUING SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS OF
STRATEGIC WEAPONS. WE WANT A COM-
PREHENSIVE BAN ON NUCLEAR TESTING,
A PROHIBITION AGAINST CHEMICAL WARFARE,
NO ATTACK CAPABILITY AGAINST SPACE
SATELLITES, AND ARMS LIMITATIONS IN
THE INDIAN OCEAN.

I HOPE THAT WE CAN TAKE JOINT
STEPS WITH ALL NATIONS TOWARDS
ELIMINATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS COMPLETELY
FROM OUR ARSENALS OF DEATH. WE WILL
PERSIST.

I BELIEVE IN DETENTE WITH THE
SOVIET UNION. TO ME IT MEANS PROGRESS
TOWARDS PEACE. [~~BUT THAT PROGRESS MUST~~
~~BE BOTH COMPREHENSIVE AND RECIPROCAL.~~]
[~~WE CANNOT HAVE ACCOMMODATION IN ONE~~
~~PART OF THE WORLD AND THE AGGRAVATION~~
~~OF CONFLICTS IN ANOTHER.~~]

BUT
SHOULD ^{*NOT*} ~~[NOR SHOULD]~~ THE EFFECTS OF DETENTE
BE LIMITED TO OUR TWO COUNTRIES ALONE.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

WE HOPE TO

[~~WE HOPE THE SOVIET LEADERS WILL JOIN~~
~~US IN EFFORTS TO STOP THE SPREAD OF~~
~~NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES AND TO REDUCE~~
~~SALES OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS.~~] WE HOPE
TO PERSUADE THE SOVIET UNION THAT
ONE COUNTRY CANNOT IMPOSE ITS OWN
SOCIAL SYSTEM UPON ANOTHER, EITHER
THROUGH DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION
OR THROUGH THE USE OF A CLIENT STATE'S
MILITARY FORCE -- AS WITH THE CUBAN
INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA.

COOPERATION ALSO IMPLIES
OBLIGATION. WE HOPE THAT THE SOVIET
UNION WILL JOIN IN PLAYING A LARGER
ROLE IN AIDING THE DEVELOPING WORLD,
FOR COMMON AID EFFORTS WILL HELP US

BUILD A BRIDGE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE.

FOURTH, WE ARE TAKING DELIBERATE
STEPS TO IMPROVE THE CHANCES OF
LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THROUGH WIDE-RANGING CONSULTATIONS
WITH THE LEADERS OF THE COUNTRIES
INVOLVED, WE HAVE FOUND SOME AREAS
OF AGREEMENT AND SOME MOVEMENT
TOWARDS CONSENSUS. THE NEGOTIATIONS
MUST CONTINUE.

THROUGH MY PUBLIC COMMENTS, I
HAVE ALSO TRIED TO SUGGEST A MORE
FLEXIBLE FRAMEWORK FOR THE DISCUSSION
OF THE THREE KEY ISSUES WHICH HAVE

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

SO FAR BEEN

SO FAR BEEN INTRACTABLE: THE NATURE
OF A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE, THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SECURITY AND
BORDERS, AND THE ISSUE OF THE
PALESTINIAN HOMELAND.

THE HISTORIC FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL IS NOT
DEPENDENT ON DOMESTIC POLITICS IN
EITHER NATION; IT IS DERIVED FROM
OUR COMMON RESPECT FOR HUMAN FREEDOM
AND FROM OUR COMMON SEARCH FOR
PERMANENT PEACE. WE WILL CONTINUE
TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT WHICH ALL
OF US NEED. OUR OWN POLICY WILL NOT
BE AFFECTED BY CHANGES IN LEADERSHIP

IN ANY OF THE COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE
EAST. THEREFORE, WE EXPECT ISRAEL
AND HER NEIGHBORS TO CONTINUE TO BE
BOUND BY U.N. RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338,
WHICH THEY HAVE PREVIOUSLY ACCEPTED.

THIS MAY BE THE MOST PROPITIOUS
TIME FOR A GENUINE SETTLEMENT SINCE
THE BEGINNING OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI
CONFLICT. TO LET THIS OPPORTUNITY
PASS COULD MEAN DISASTER, NOT ONLY
FOR THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT PERHAPS
FOR THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC ORDER AS WELL.

FIFTH, WE ARE ATTEMPTING, EVEN
AT THE RISK OF SOME FRICTION WITH

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

OUR FRIENDS

OUR FRIENDS, TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF
NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND THE WORLD-
WIDE SPREAD OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS.

AT THE RECENT SUMMIT ~~THERE WAS~~
~~GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT PROLIFERATION~~
~~OF EXPLOSIVES FROM REPROCESSED~~
~~NUCLEAR WASTES IS A SERIOUS ISSUE.~~
WE ~~HAVE NOW~~ SET IN MOTION AN INTER-
NATIONAL EFFORT TO DETERMINE THE
BEST WAYS OF HARNESSING NUCLEAR
ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL USE, WHILE
REDUCING THE RISKS THAT ITS PRODUCTS
WILL BE DIVERTED TO THE MAKING OF
EXPLOSIVES.

WE HAVE ALSO COMPLETED A COMPRE-
HENSIVE REVIEW OF OUR OWN POLICY ON
ARMS TRANSFERS. COMPETITION IN ARMS
SALES IS INIMICAL TO PEACE AND
DESTRUCTIVE OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE POORER COUNTRIES. WE
WILL, AS A MATTER OF NATIONAL POLICY,
SEEK TO REDUCE THE ANNUAL DOLLAR
VOLUME OF ARMS SALES, TO RESTRICT
THE TRANSFER OF ADVANCED WEAPONRY,
AND TO REDUCE THE EXTENT OF OUR
CO-PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS WITH
FOREIGN STATES. JUST AS IMPORTANT,
WE ARE TRYING TO GET OTHER NATIONS TO
JOIN US IN THIS EFFORT.

ALL OF THIS IS JUST THE BEGINNING.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

BUT IT IS

BUT IT IS A BEGINNING AIMED TOWARDS A
CLEAR GOAL: TO CREATE A WIDER
FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERA-
TION SUITED TO THE NEW HISTORICAL
CIRCUMSTANCES.

WE WILL COOPERATE MORE CLOSELY
WITH THE NEWLY INFLUENTIAL COUNTRIES
IN LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA, AND ASIA.
WE NEED THEIR FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERA-
TION IN A COMMON EFFORT AS THE STRUCTURE
OF WORLD POWER CHANGES.

MORE THAN 100 YEARS AGO, ABRAHAM
LINCOLN SAID THAT OUR NATION COULD
NOT EXIST HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE.
WE KNOW THAT A PEACEFUL WORLD CANNOT

LONG EXIST ONE-THIRD RICH AND TWO-
THIRDS HUNGRY.

MOST NATIONS SHARE OUR FAITH
THAT, IN THE LONG-RUN, EXPANDED AND
EQUITABLE TRADE WILL BEST HELP
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO HELP THEM-
SELVES. BUT THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS
OF HUNGER, DISEASE, ILLITERACY AND
REPRESSION ARE HERE NOW.

THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES, THE
OPEC NATIONS, AND THE DEVELOPED
COMMUNIST COUNTRIES CAN COOPERATE
THROUGH EXISTING INTERNATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS IN PROVIDING MORE

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

EFFECTIVE AID

EFFECTIVE AID. THIS IS AN EXCELLENT
ALTERNATIVE TO WAR.

WE HAVE A SPECIAL NEED FOR
COOPERATION AND CONSULTATION WITH
OTHER NATIONS IN THIS HEMISPHERE.
WE DO NOT NEED ANOTHER SLOGAN:
ALTHOUGH THESE ARE OUR CLOSE FRIENDS
AND NEIGHBORS, OUR LINKS WITH THEM
ARE THE SAME LINKS OF EQUALITY THAT
WE FORGE WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD.
WE WILL BE DEALING WITH THEM AS PART
OF A NEW WORLDWIDE MOSAIC OF GLOBAL,
REGIONAL AND BILATERAL RELATIONS.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE MAKE
PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZING RELATIONS

WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.
WE SEE THE AMERICAN-CHINESE RELATION-
SHIP AS A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF OUR
GLOBAL POLICY, AND CHINA AS A KEY
FORCE FOR GLOBAL PEACE. WE WISH TO
COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH THE CREATIVE
CHINESE PEOPLE ON THE PROBLEMS THAT
CONFRONT ALL MANKIND. WE HOPE TO
FIND A FORMULA WHICH CAN BRIDGE
SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES THAT STILL
SEPARATE US.

FINALLY, LET ME SAY THAT WE ARE
COMMITTED TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION
OF THE CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE PRINCIPLE

OF MAJORITY RULE

OF MAJORITY RULE TO BE THE BASIS FOR
POLITICAL ORDER, RECOGNIZING THAT IN
A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM THE RIGHTS OF
THE MINORITY MUST ALSO BE PROTECTED.
TO BE PEACEFUL, CHANGE MUST COME
PROMPTLY. THE UNITED STATES IS
DETERMINED TO WORK TOGETHER WITH
OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES AND THE CONCERNED
AFRICAN STATES TO SHAPE A CONGENIAL
INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE RAPID
AND PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF
SOUTHERN AFRICAN SOCIETY AND TO HELP
PROTECT IT FROM UNWARRANTED OUTSIDE
INTERFERENCE.

LET ME CONCLUDE:

OUR POLICY IS BASED ON AN
HISTORICAL VISION OF AMERICA'S
ROLE;

IT IS DERIVED FROM A LARGER
VIEW OF GLOBAL CHANGE;

IT IS ROOTED IN OUR MORAL
VALUES;

IT IS REINFORCED BY OUR MATERIAL
WEALTH AND BY OUR MILITARY POWER;

IT IS DESIGNED TO SERVE MANKIND;

AND IT IS A POLICY THAT I HOPE
WILL MAKE YOU PROUD TO BE AMERICAN.

~~##~~ ~~##~~ ~~##~~